

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM  
SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: THE VOLUNTARY NATURE OF MANEUVERS CBM

REF: GENEVA 1897; DAVISON-MARESCA TELECON OF MARCH 20

1. THIS MESSAGE GIVES MORE DETAIL ON LIKELY ALLIED REACTION TO THE TWO OPTIONS FOR A US APPROACH SET OUT REFTEL AND THE TWO ADDITIONAL OPTIONS MENTIONED IN THE REF TELECON.

2. OPTION A: GENERALLY POSITIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIETS AND AN ACTIVE US ROLE IN PREPARING A FORTHCOMING ALLIED COUNTERMOVE. THIS APPROACH MIGHT AROUSE SOME BRITISH RESENTMENT SINCE THE UK HAS TRADITIONALLY TAKEN LEAD ON THIS ISSUE FOR THE NATO GROUP IN CSCE. THERE WOULD ALSO BE SOME GRUMBLING FROM DUTCH, CANADIANS, AND OTHER SMALLER ALLIES, AND AN ACTIVIST US APPROACH COULD LEND CREDENCE TO RUMORS, RIFE HERE SINCE AGREEMENT ON THE PEACEFUL CHANGE SENTENCE, OF A BILATERAL US-SOVIET DEAL. ALLIES IN GENEVA WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO ABANDON LONG-HELD AND STOUTLY DEFENDED POSITIONS, AND TO LEAVE NEUTRAL FRIENDS HIGH AND DRY WITHOUT AT LEAST A SUITABLE GRACE PERIOD. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT IF DEPARTMENT OPTS FOR MORE ACTIVE ROLE, ALLIED RESENTMENT COULD BE HELD TO MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS WITH CAREFUL TACTICAL

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HANDLING HERE.

3. OPTION B: MORE RESERVED ATTITUDE TO THE SOVIET GAMBIT AND LOW PROFILE WITHIN NATO CAUCUS, LEAVING IT TO UK AND OTHERS TO TAKE LEAD. THIS WOULD CONFORM WITH MAJORITY ATTITUDE AMONG NATO DELEGATIONS AND THUS SHOULD POSE NO PROBLEM WITH ALLIES.

4. OPTION C: HANG TOUGH ON COMMITMENT LANGUAGE. WE SENSE THAT THE MAJOR ALLIED CAPITALS ARE NOW READY TO MOVE AHEAD MORE RAPIDLY TO WIND UP CSCE. THEY WOULD READ A "HANG TOUGH" US APPROACH ON CBMS AS INDICATIVE OF A POSSIBLE US DESIRE TO SPIN OUT TALKS HERE. MOST ALLIES ARE GENERALLY READY TO ACCEPT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL IN DUE COURSE, AND ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS, AND WE WOULD SOON BE LARGELY ISOLATED HERE IF WE SEEMED TO OPPOSE IT.

5. OPTION D: DISCREETLY ENCOURAGE ALLIES TO "HANG TOUGH" WITHOUT TAKING AN EXPOSED POSITION IN CSCE DISCUSSIONS. THIS WOULD HAVE SOME OF THE SAME DISADVANTAGES WE CAN SEE IN OPTION C ABOVE, PLUS THE ADDITIONAL DISADVANTAGES THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND IT IF WE TALKED A GOOD FIGHT IN CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS BUT KEPT QUIT IN THE CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE. IN ANY EVENT, OUR POSTURE WOULD SWIFTLY LEAK TO THE SOVIETS, AND WE BELIEVE THIS OPTION WOULD GIVE US THE WORST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS.

6. ASIDE FROM QUESTION OF WHETHER US TAKES LEAD OR LOW PROFILE, INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD ADDRESS QUESTION OF WHAT, IF ANYTHING, WE SHOULD ASK IN RETURN FOR EVENTUAL US ACCEPTANCE OF VOLUNTARY LANGUAGE. SOVIETS HAVE OFFERED NOTIFICATION OF NATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL AS A SWEETNER, BUT HAVE REFUSED TO LET ANYONE LOOK INTO THE CLOSED BAG THEY SAY CONTAINS OTHER CONCESSIONS ON PARAMETERS. WE COULD EITHER QUESTION THIS PROPOSITION AND ASK FOR TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT THE BAG IS NOT EMPTY BEFORE ACCEPTING VOLUNTARINESS, OR WE COULD TAKE THE SOVIET ASSURANCES AT THEIR FACE VALUE. WE WOULD PREFER FIRST ALTERNATIVE, BUT BELIEVE, IF DEPT ACCEPTS THAT

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APPROACH, THAT DELEGATION SHOULD BE ALLOWED SOME TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY IN LIGHT OF SOVIET AND ALLIED ATTITUDES AS THEY EMERGE. DALE

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